

## Message Text

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ORIGIN EA-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SP-02 ICA-11 AID-05 EB-08 NSC-05  
TRSE-00 SS-15 STR-07 OMB-01 CEA-01 CIAE-00  
COME-00 FRB-03 INR-10 NSAE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03  
LAB-04 SIL-01 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 L-03 PA-01 /101 R

DRAFTED BY EA - EHHEGINBOTHAM/RBOAKLEY:LGR  
APPROVED BY EA - RICHARD HOLBROOKE  
EA/TIMBS - REFRITTS  
EA/EP - AGEBER

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P R 162345Z MAY 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY MANILA PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR PRIORITY  
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
AMEMBASSY RANGOON

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 124848

FOR THE AMBASSADOR FROM HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ASEAN, ID, MY, SN, TH, RP

SUBJECT: ASEAN-US MINISTERIAL MEETING

REF: A) STATE 113017; B) MANILA 7445; C) BANGKOK 13359;  
D) JAKARTA 6190.

1. OUR CONCLUSION, AS A RESULT OF DISCUSSIONS WITH SENIOR  
OFFICIALS IN MANILA, BANGKOK AND JAKARTA, IS THAT ASEAN  
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COUNTRIES WILL AGREE TO GO AHEAD WITH A MINISTERIAL LEVEL  
MEETING IN THE U.S. ON AUGUST 3 AND 4. WE MAY HAVE TO WAIT  
UNTIL THE JUNE 13-15 FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING TO OBTAIN  
THE OFFICIAL STAMP. HOWEVER, WE NEED TO PIN DOWN THE  
INTENTION OF INDIVIDUAL ASEAN CAPITALS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE  
TO PERMIT ADEQUATE PLANNING FOR THIS IMPORTANT EVENT.

2. AN INTERAGENCY MEETING HAS BEEN HELD HERE AND A DRAFT ILLUSTRATIVE AGENDA HAS BEEN PREPARED. WE WILL CABLE ILLUSTRATIVE AGENDA AFTER PRESENTING IT TO AWC TOMORROW AND YOU MAY USE IT AS APPROPRIATE IN UNDERLINING THE POINT. THE AGENDA ITEMS REMAIN LARGELY ECONOMIC, AS INDICATED IN REF A AND IN KEEPING WITH THE FORMAL US-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP, ASEAN'S FEAR OF THE RELATIONSHIP APPEARING TOO POLITICAL AND WHAT ASEAN HAS SAID IT WANTS OUT OF THE MEETING. OUR HOPE IS THAT IN DISCUSSING THE ILLUSTRATIVE AGENDA AND INVITING COMMENTS FROM HOST GOVERNMENTS, YOU CAN PIN THEM DOWN TO THE AUGUST 3-4 DATES, AND CAN ALSO MAKE PROGRESS IN INFLUENCING THE COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATIONS.

3. CONCERNING DATES, AS PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED THE AUGUST 3-4 PERIOD OFFERS A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR SERIOUS HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS BETWEEN ASEAN MINISTERS AND THE KEY POLICYMAKERS OF THE USG, INCLUDING A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND CONSIDERABLE TIME FOR TALKS WITH SECRETARIES VANCE AND BLUMENTHAL, AS WELL AS MEETINGS WITH CONGRESS, THE PRESS AND BUSINESS LEADERS. IF ASEAN PREFERS TO MEET DURING THE UNGA, AS SOME FOREIGN MINISTERS HAVE BEEN SUGGESTING, WE WOULD OF COURSE BE READY TO TRY TO MAKE ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS. HOWEVER, ASEAN GOVERNMENTS SHOULD UNDERSTAND, AS WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY EXPLAINED, THAT THE CRUSH OF OTHER BUSINESS AND VISITORS WOULD BE SUCH THAT THERE WOULD BE VIRTUALLY NO POSSIBILITY OF

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PARTICIPATION BY THE PRESIDENT AND TOP-LEVEL USG OFFICIALS OTHER THAN SECRETARY VANCE, AND HIS TIME WOULD BE MUCH MORE LIMITED. THEREFORE, THE MEETING WOULD PROBABLY BE ABLE TO DO LITTLE MORE THAN THE USUAL SERIES OF BILATERAL MEETINGS BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTERS AND SECRETARY VANCE AT THE UNGA.

4. CONCERNING THE COMPOSITION OF ASEAN'S DELEGATES, PRELIMINARY INDICATIONS ARE THAT IN ADDITION TO ROMULO, SEVERAL OTHER FOREIGN MINISTERS ARE CONTEMPLATED AS HEADS OF THEIR DELEGATION, NOTABLY THAILAND AND INDONESIA. GIVEN ASEAN'S DESIRE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AND PLAY DOWN THE POLITICAL INVOLVEMENT, WE WONDER WHETHER THIS IS THE BEST APPROACH. WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED THAT THE FOREIGN MINISTERS MAY BE LESS UNDERSTANDING OF THE REALISTIC LIMITS TO PROGRESS ON CERTAIN ECONOMIC ISSUES AND COULD THEREFORE TAKE A CONFRONTATIONAL POSITION. OBVIOUSLY DISCUSSING WITH HOST GOVERNMENTS THE COMPOSITION OF THEIR DELEGATION IS A SENSITIVE MATTER AND YOU WILL HAVE TO USE YOUR DISCRETION AND KNOWLEDGE OF THE LOCAL SCENE TO ASCERTAIN HOW BEST TO CONVEY OUR IDEAS. NEVERTHELESS, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE BEST POSSIBLE RESULT

FROM THE MEETING YOU SHOULD CONVEY THE FOLLOWING GENERAL THEMES:

-- GIVEN THE EXPRESS ASEAN DESIRE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AT THE NEXT MEETING WITH THE U.S., WE HOPE THAT THE CHIEF ASEAN REPRESENTATIVES WILL BE ABLE TO SPEAK FOR THE BROAD ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENTAL INTERESTS OF THE ASEAN COUNTRIES;

-- PARTICIPATION BY THE U.S. SIDE HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE ASEAN SIDE WOULD BE PATTERNED ON

THE US-ASEAN MEETING IN MANILA, THAT IS, ROMULO WOULD HEAD THE OVERALL DELEGATION BUT SEVERAL INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS  
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WOULD BE HEADED BY MINISTERS FROM THE ECONOMIC SECTOR OR INCLUDE ECONOMIC MINISTERS.

-- THE PARTICIPATION OF BLUMENTHAL AND OTHER HIGH-LEVEL USG ECONOMIC OFFICIALS WILL BE CONTINGENT UPON THEIR HAVING ASEAN COUNTERPARTS WITH WHOM TO EXCHANGE VIEWS, THEREFORE ASEAN WILL HAVE A GREATER OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE ITS CASE SUCCESSFULLY IF ECONOMIC MINISTERS ARE ALSO PRESENT.

-- THE IMPACT OF ASEAN MEETINGS WITH CONGRESS, THE PRESS AND BUSINESS WILL ALSO BE DETERMINED IN CONSIDERABLE PART BY THE COMPOSITION OF THE DELEGATIONS, I.E. MORE PROGRESS CAN BE MADE IN ACHIEVING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AND PLACING THE US-ASEAN RELATIONSHIP IN AN ECONOMIC RATHER THAN A POLITICAL FRAMEWORK IF THERE ARE ALSO ECONOMIC MINISTERS PRESENT.

5. I WILL SEE THE ASEAN WASHINGTON COMMITTEE ON MAY 17 TO MAKE THESE SAME POINTS.

6. FOR JAKARTA: I HAVE ASKED HEGINBOTHAM TO CONTACT WIDJO-O AT IGGI MEETING TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO ECONOMIC MINISTER PARTICIPATION, HOPEFULLY INCLUDING HIMSELF. WE ATTACH SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO REPRESENTATIVES WHO CAN SPEAK FOR THE BROAD ENVIRONMENTAL INTERESTS OF ASEAN COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY AS WE HOPE TO GIVE THESE MINISTERIALS CONGRESSIONAL AND MEDIA ATTENTION. YOU MIGHT INDICATE THAT ESPECIALLY IN THE CASE OF INDONESIA, GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF TRADE, COMMODITY AND DEVELOPMENT ISSUES, A STRONG ECONOMIC MINISTER REPRESENTATION WOULD BE HIGHLY BENEFICIAL. (FYI: WE FEAR THAT PARTICIPATION BY FOREIGN MINISTER MOCHTAR MAY BE  
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DETRIMENTAL, GIVEN HIS HIGHLY NEGATIVE APPRAISAL OF THE  
EVENT AND HIS NEW STRESS ON NON-ALIGNMENT. END FYI)

7. FOR KUALA LUMPUR: SUGGEST YOU MAKE ESSENTIALLY THE  
SAME PITCH AS TO WIDJOJO, TARGETING AT ATTENDANCE BY  
MAHATHIR IF POSSIBLE.

8. FOR MANILA: WOULD BE HELPFUL IF YOU COULD DETERMINE  
HOW MANY AND WHICH ECONOMIC MINISTERS ARE BEING CONSIDERED  
TO ACCOMPANY ROMULO. WE HOPE THAT ONE RESULT OF US-ASEAN  
SESSION WOULD BE VISIT BY EXIM BANK CHAIRMAN MOORE TO  
SOME OR ALL ASEAN CAPITALS LATER THIS YEAR. THERE IS ALSO  
POSSIBLE OPIC SUPPORT OF AN INVESTMENT MISSION. PARTI-  
CIPATION BY PATERNO, IN ADDITION TO EITHER TRADE OR

DEVELOPMENT REPRESENTATION WOULD BE DESIRABLE.

9. FOR SINGAPORE: SUGGEST YOU MAKE GENERAL PRESENTATION  
TO APPROPRIATE GOS OFFICIALS OF IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC  
TOPICS, BUT WE HAVE NO SUGGESTIONS TO GIVE REGARDING  
SPECIFIC GOS PARTICIPATION. WELCOME ANY SUGGESTIONS YOU  
MAY MAKE. WE HAVE NO OBJECTION TO FONMIN RAJARATNAM.

10. FOR BANGKOK: YOU MIGHT PREFER TO MAKE NO DEMARCHE AT  
PRESENT, BUT RATHER AWAIT RESULTS OF TALKS IN OTHER  
CAPITALS, ON PREMISE THAT THAI PARTICIPATION WILL BE MOST  
INFLUENCED BY WHAT OTHERS DECIDE TO DO. ALTERNATIVELY,  
YOU MAY WISH TO TALK PRIVATELY WITH KRIANGSAK ALONG  
SUGGESTED LINES. UPPADIT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE MEETING  
HAS NOT BEEN HELPFUL AND WE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO DISCUSS  
ECONOMIC MATTERS IN A MEANINGFUL WAY. GIVEN POTENTIAL  
IMPORTANCE OF U.S. PRIVATE INVESTMENT IN THAILAND,  
MINISTER OF INDUSTRY KASSEM MIGHT MAKE AN EXCELLENT  
REPRESENTATIVE. YOU MAY HAVE OTHER IDEAS. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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